THE DOROBO OF THE NORTH TINDERET FOREST (KIPSIGIS)

HISTORY

193 It is clear from traditions of the Nandi, Masai, and Kikuyu, as well as of the Dorobo themselves, that the Dorobo (whatever their origin) were living in the Kenya Highlands when the Nilo-Hamites and Bantu arrived there. Since most of the Dorobo hunting bands are found within areas which under the British Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the western Dorobo, including the Kipkoromik, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became mostly Forest Reserve; hence their land rights were not considered.

498 About 1937 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dorobo, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserves by primitive hunters, who were considered to be Nandi Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months about 3 per cent of these transferred had crept back to the edge of the North Tinderet forest, there and hence, where they were living precariously when I did field-work among them in 1938-9.

[14]

DEMOGRAPHY

161 The Kipkoromik Dorobo of the western part of the North Tinderet Forest Reserve numbered 256 when I made a census of them in 1938-39. Since part of the horde was on longer, or temporarily living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile or their lack, and this resulted in the distinction of four domicile categories:

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A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 6,000 ft. and over.

B. Forehand on the edge of the forest, mostly between 7,000 and 6,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.

C. Forehand on North Reserve (Land Unit), within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.

D. Distant areas, i.e., the Kipsi and Kamasian Land Units, and Lumbwa; in the first two there is usually similar to A.

People classed under C and D were still considered to belong to the horde, and were regarded as members of their original domicile (band), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by districts, with domicile categories, and (2) by districts, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Kipkoromik	Kamasian	Kipsigis	% of total	Totals
A B C D Unknown	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(2)

THE DANGER OF THE SOUTH VINDHYAT FOREST

Item	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Eighteenth	2	2	10	10	10	40
Nathan	10	10	10	10	10	40
Knight	10	10	10	10	10	40
	22	22	30	30	30	134

Sources: Huntingford, 1936, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Eighteenth Dundee, and except in the case of the Kaleq (p. 10 below) there is no material for a description of any other tribe; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Dundee Land Unit, which runs from [illegible] to [illegible], consists of two great rock-cut ridges reaching an altitude of about 6,000 ft. divided by the deeply cut river Eighteenth, "valley river," the ridges sweeping some 10 miles from the western edge to the high ground round Timbuktu which rises to over 6,000 ft. The region is three-cornered, "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick impenetrable undergrowth, growing to a height of 8 or 9 ft. The average rainfall on a long row valley from the edge of the forest was 54.08 ins. over a period of nine years. For within the last 20 years the Dundee Land by small isolated settlements, right inside the forest. Across two gaps by two parallel tracks across the south western corner of the forest, and cultivated paths [illegible] all from there leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent [illegible] the forest was [illegible] and wooden hunting ground, to [illegible] the Dundee used to hunt for [illegible] Knight and the Upper Lower Forest, and down to the Bob Valley. In 1937 they were [illegible] removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domestic occupation A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush [illegible] forest the upper edge of the forest which occupy the foothills [illegible] forest and the Knight Land Unit. But the inhabitants of the Government had been [illegible] consider the Dundee to the Knight Land Unit. This the Dundee did not agree to, but [illegible] settlement along the edge of the forest were not officially occupied, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters of certain landowners on the lands they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

The standard by European settlement, the Dundee had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 20 years they have been taking some interest in the [illegible] of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, [illegible] only livestock were bees and dogs.

Economy

The group was divided into two seasons, monsoonal, the dry season, when they [illegible] game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and [illegible] plains, and [illegible] the wet season, when they are [illegible] in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and [illegible] in the plains, trapped and dug pit and hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkey of all kinds; almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of lizards, snakes, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.5E --Analyst]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only sheuion. Though their inclination was to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret, pl. imbaresuk*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, *sheuion, pairik*, and *maize, tyendek*. Millet has not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *rajeuuik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, *shagwal* hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *adoliet*, and knives, *ratuet or tyendoiuet*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *mogiuenik*, from October to March, and *mutiet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with pearling and burning of tree land. The seed of sheuion and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and sheuion are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Sheuion is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted entirely of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *mesemwet* (*rubus rigidus*), *kwanyet* (*solanum aculeatissimum*), and *sosyet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the same plant, and leaves of nettle, *sisot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipkwonik or kwonik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "*mosop*"

Lithuaingford R-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

ears," rubbed (thereby polishing) and worked, shoulder belt, made, though seldom, in the Masai way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lukumek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Masai, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Masai have been, on the whole, friendly, maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Masai culture, including language, clan names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Masai like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Masai women, as well as of Dorobo women with Masai men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Masai, and the Masai fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force or ruse-wisdom which they attribute to them.

From the Masai the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 91), and the word of contact for planting. The Masai get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest manyatta or putter or other persons who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Masai Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Masai. The exchange values in 1938 were:

- 1 arm for 1 basket of honey;
- 1 bundle of tobacco (about) } for 1 basket of honey;
- 1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
- 1 bundle of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
- 1 goat for a day's weeding in the owner's garden;
- large earthenware pot for 1 large pregnant ewe, also (usually both ewes);
- small earthenware pot for 1 small pregnant ewe, also (usually ewes);
- 3 bundles of wood for planting for 1 acre Dorobo.

The bag, *mutchot*, is made of skin and measures about 6 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Masai, but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. The Ilkiu have specialized about cattle (*ilmotiok*), and by 1938 had worked out definite rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were ordered from the forest in 1937 they were already combined with about 2,000 head of cattle, but no census of other people's stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938-9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the completion of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Sheep
Ilkiu of Kiptunich ...	80	60	4
Ilkiu of Sabatia ...	60	40	6
Ilkiu of Kaigat ...	10	6	6
	90	86	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Masai.

1:Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

that cow-dung be used for both the *hondo* and *koroiet*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 6	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Kipsigis women: 1	Dorobo and Kipsigis men: 1
Dorobo and Terik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *ogokiyoriot*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*ariet*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

Children receive their first name, the *ogik*-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *kwak*, men of, eldest sons taking their

I: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepinish*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] *or Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwakenik* or *Kiptoumik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koruseek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kind ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the tarsus."

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kwyagda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiot* tree (*lovilea* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *inet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaila* trees, or from bamboo, *sosoiyat*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *keñot* bush (*acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kerepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phœnix reclinata* palm, *sosiet*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguat* (*emilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *orokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *euoriot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipūyec panyek, "Asis,* fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arasa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ceuowiñit*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *masambaasik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokomek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeyuat*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuperet* (*dracæna* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOQ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoq in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tururit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 282.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93.
[4] = Nandi *turur*, " above."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Balaŋga* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Balaŋga*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Balaŋga* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kinyalaŋgat

The *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Balaŋga* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kinyalaŋgat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kinyalaŋgat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kinyalaŋgat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except insomuch as it refers to the *Kinyalaŋgat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kinyalaŋgat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kinyalaŋgat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *'l-Oikop*. The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle.

[2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] Kwavi, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mósiro* and *Médiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mósiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mósiro* is at Talamai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Juu*,[4] but no living *Mósiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talamai.

The *Mósiro* are to be found, occasionally, living with the Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mósiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, houseless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mósiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 127. [4] *Abese*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as unclean.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiak* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai–Gitu–Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu and Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni–Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic [2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or

[1] They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[2] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[3] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[4] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Mósiro* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Mósiro* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Mósiro* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Mósiro*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Mósiro* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Muran within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kwavi, Logo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seen to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipokandet* (Nandi); *Hombi* (*Mósiro*).

[2] When the Masai Muran go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Mósiro*. The duties of the latter are to plait the Masai warriors' hair, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Meteitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret* plur. *koroosek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kiruokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C* ch in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eitusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1929-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*kwet*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 59-69.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

The Political Organization of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

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1. The Effect of Contact with the Nandi

Although the wording of a Dorobo text suggests that the Dorobo[1] were originally in contact with the Masai before the Nandi appeared on the scene[2], nevertheless before 1925 the effective outside contacts of the Dorobo were mainly with the Nandi; and their political system has acquired so much superficial resemblance to that of the Nandi that any investigation of the Dorobo system must begin with a short survey of the contact between the two peoples. Since the establishment of relations between the Dorobo and the Nandi (in particular those of SE Nandi and their blacksmiths), there has been, with certain reservations, a state of friendliness between the two peoples. The Nandi have always tolerated the Dorobo as long as they live outside Nandi, and have always been half afraid of them as rainmakers and magicians; the Dorobo in turn fear the Nandi because they are a group much larger and stronger than they themselves are.

The two groups thus brought into contact are of very unequal size (the population of the Nandi is close on 50 000), and of unequal advancement

[1] For the first part of this study, see Anthropos 46, 1951, pp. 1-48.

[2] When describing circumcision during the course of telling me his life-story, Arap Mining used these words: *Ngot kejwa kun Obiot kwoy kondoiwe Kimalish, kejwa ab Ephrayim*, by which I understand him to mean that Dorobo acted as circumcisers for the Uasin Gishu Masai before the Nandi had come. The passage is a little obscure, for the verb *kejwa* is plural, and the apparent subject *Obiot* singular. When I wrote it down, I did not realize its significance.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

to marry her, and should the affair become known (as such things usually do), the clan council can prevent, if necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary ostracism, for as an elder told me, *ingorwiyo ol ok cept ap tilial, calaubin ne ne kol, anee meeome ahaliaich apt meeome caawilik*, "if a man lies with a girl of his *tilial* (by which he must clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes incest, and a very serious offence, treated as if it were intercourse with a relative in the *tilial*, and summary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the crime of incest offends the *caawilik*, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty are not punished there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may hurt indiscriminately not only them but innocent people as well. So in such cases, when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his honey-barrels are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after due discussion at the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is, to the time before the Government attempted to establish the Dorobo in Nandi in 1937; and my census in 1939 revealed the fact that there were comparatively few old men left, many less, in fact, than there were in 1927. The clan groupings therefore do not show as many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing seniors of to-day are elder members of the Nyongi age-set, whose maximum age in 1939 was fifty. Reminder of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

At Kipaka and Kipkoros, 2 miles apart; all Moi clan.	1 Kajelar. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 5 unmarried Maina. 1 Jua. 3 children and 1 girl.
At Kapro; Moi and Kaparkol clans	1 Kimyiko. 3 married Nyongi, wives and children. 3 unmarried Nyongi. 6 unmarried Maina.
At Ndarross and Ngaingkong, 3 miles apart; all Kipaka.	1 married Nyongi, wife absent. 4 unmarried Maina. 3 Jua. 3 wives and 3 girls living with them. 1 married Nyongi, wife and children. 1 married Maina, wife and children. 1 unmarried Nyongi.

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These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

8. The Karet

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masai, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1938 I was told that no *karet* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *ajelilisiê*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *asiik*, boys. The *ajelilisiê* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *asiik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *ongishkisiê*, old women; *yeuvik*, married women; and *sipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relations. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be *major* participants in some affair, as for instance, where a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuik*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpai: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpai.
4. Kipkenura: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sondyo: east of Kipkenura.
6. Motoloi: between the forest and the Motoloi river.
7. Molompit: east of Kipkenura.
8. Pureet: east of Sirua.
9. Sengalo: east of Sirua.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

or goat where the Dorobo are concerned); *mumit ap tongina*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Nandi diviner of the kind called *sokoyot*. Diviners used to charge the Dorobo a fee of 2/— if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/— if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *kwoito par*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Nandi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and sit bo-and-so that he may recover". The sick person must then be oiled on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mumit ap tongina*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the *kraal*.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dorobo for many years; they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dorobo was believed to be responsible. This does not mean,however, that the Dorobo are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Nandi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dorobo go to the Nandi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Nandi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dorobo; and the witch is then dealt with according to Nandi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dorobo against the Nandi in 1939 was that they did not want Dorobo to live in the Nandi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Nandi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dorobo go to a Nandi diviner (*sokoyot*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *orkoik* are not, like the Nandi *orkoik*, diviners, but simply people who know how to cure illness with *kwosuk ap kotik*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Nandi would call *kiptorotwoik*. These *orkoik* (sing. *orkoiyot*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of *lepyenuet* seeds (called *lepsowik* in Nandi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mendet* tree, each about 3 ins. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

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the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to reinforce the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted to the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt for eland with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, but the act should not put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, he call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter the barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kipiti* and *kiptundon* or *kiptundon* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a belt of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Trust Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work.[1]

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of scrub, there (erecta robusta, the fist-nagged Aloe-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the Aloes and the forest are glades (ovoka) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, rough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and even on frequent, in the dry weather there is occasional heat-haze in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some moths stays before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cassia, Senna sp.	Bersama, englerana mackinderum
Kokwi, arnoseriform, lobongwet.	Cuphea, pallescens sp.
Kipsiyet, Olea sp.	Casearia, ossea sapota
Lowoiyet, olivetia stenotoma.	Croatoni, ovalis dictyoneuroya.
Kimbiriyet, polygonum senegalense.	Cretoni, erecta robusta.
Kiptagiet, Brucaea sp.	Cupkoiti, Senna sp.
Mwenjoni, olea chrysophylla.	Cassiyet, ornamentalis alpina.
Cassia, Senna sp.	Fork, podocarpus gracilis.
Podet, Dombeya sp.	

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were marked by narrow and hardly discernible paths through the undergrowth; somethese some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-hunting and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two motor roads, one running from Kijabe-town to Kwanza, the other parallel to it from Kijabe to Kwanza. These being the only through routes, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The farms are extensive, and only their home parts are actually occupied and worked, so that a small tract there is an interval of 1–2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

a himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cephasmoone was at that time about 30).

While the areas within the bands are interdependent, the bands as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Kundi. But only do some Dorobo now actually live with Kundi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cigandet, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Kundi: Arap Cigandet himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkomoss, sharing her hut, and growing a little shamba at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. Seligman called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Kundi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Kundi, the Dorobo depend on the Kundi for certain essentials, and the Kundi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Kundi, in the shape of the Kundi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Kundi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for his hunting and hunting (except those made of iron); every woman learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(a) Wood: used for huts, implements, heavy-barrels, traps, fuel.
(b) Plant materials: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(c) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, rawls, etc.; thong, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(d) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(e) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:
Kaiset (*cedrus sp.*): bows; house-building; heavy-barrels.
Kiwanda: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Kwenwandit: arrow-shafts.
Kwenyet (*Juniperus*): arrow-shafts; intermediate used as water jars.
Kimyenet: traps.
Kiwaldet (*Juniperus*): traps.
Kokor (*Leucosidea fulvinerva*): arrow-poison.
Lipaldet (*Dracaena sp.*): house-building; heavy-barrels.
Kipaldet (*Olea sp.*): house-building; heavy-barrels.
Kiyondo: house-building; heavy-barrels; fire-wood.
Kwonet (*Ficus*): house-building; heavy-barrels.
Tinetet: heavy-barrels; fire-wood.
Ponet (*Ficus*): traps; heavy-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

6:Huntingford E-1 (1926-1929) 1953 FLS Dorobo FLS

through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Kenté uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo by forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in the settlement,

Kopel lakak ap Kaplakeiat ewonik ap Cheiboinyon. Kakiromo
They burn the children of Lelakin family the grass of forest over. We do not like (it)
ane mutyik Okiik Cimdo ne Cinyo lakak ar Kimet,
for they do not burn the Dorobo the forest which it contains the things which we eat,
agul ne ani pasonet ap ochemik ngul kakiio kaptet ne
also where there is the honey-barrel of the bees; also it is burned the flower which
ewo ochemik.
they eat the bees.

(The children of the Kelelat family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest fault either in 1927 or in 1930 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Ochemik, social bees, *Apis mellifera*, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imotik, solitary bees, *Gania*, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kwamek, earth bees, *Halictus*, slightly longer bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptalamik, mason bees, *Chalicodoma*, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in huts below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kokomdenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *ochemik*, drones. The queen, *kwonat ap ochemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

Fig. 4. Plan of a Dundee dwelling at Kalpur showing a Kundi Shelter.

at Kalpur in 1938 its crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called Dwarsa, that the original dwelling had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dundee has a dwelling all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area between a town, each contributing to the labour of making it; and in some cases Dundis share part of a fenced dwelling with Kundi (Fig. 4).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Tambarwa (or Tambarwa, as the Dundis call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging earth, (sarat), made of a shortpoint stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dundis lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who owned over that tract of land, and though we for some to have been paid it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dundis own this area, this could not be verified. To-day the Dundis sell coloured earth to the Kundi, who pay them at the rate of a shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, evidently is sent mixed with fat (or sometimes cheese oil) for rubbing on the body; white earth, mentioned, is sent as a magical remedy in cases of lumbago.

d. Cattle

Of the Dundis had not been in such close contact with a people whose ultimate interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have cultivated [illegible] have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are always ready to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

Kaffeehaus Bd 1 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dresden FLA

they have been much overseen for too short a time, and as too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle, and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Kotet acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kipsitibeny, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cheron and Tigerondo were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Tigerondo to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Kotet.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, usual, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Maina became the friend of a Nandi at Mbware called Kogilik, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fat cheek; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Kimaru in the south district of Kapsiyot to Nandi, and shot four monkeys, from which he made fat cheeks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Kimaru on Farm 1079: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Kimaru being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo expect it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi are willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for breed stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to own sheep, but in 1937 were possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that they were [illegible] numbers it will be evident that there were not goats, were very substantially

part of Ashelland to the neighbouring area of Lolowo in Kamonja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Longo and Ashelland was found unsatisfactory with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Lolowo is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kabanani, in Dedeliba, I was accompanied by Captain F. Bracy, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, but for his very willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Fiery Medes mission for generous assistance. Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligmann, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Mr. Simon Fraser.

1.—Kamonja.

The administrative purposes the boundaries of Kamonja, enclosing an area of 1,110 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Revised Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the source of the centre of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimothonga (also known as the Kibia or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Gladen River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Hedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 1° 0. Latitude due north of the highest point on Kamothonga mountain. From this point it follows the western boundary of Lolowo District until it meets the southern boundary of Ashelland Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel (lower) boundary of Ashelland Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel (lower) boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence in a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until almost the middle of 1926 Kamonja was administered, except that part of it generally known as Lolowo which was treated as part of the Ashelland District. Kamonja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently to the vicinity of the mountains which lend to be mainly grouped on the western and northern sides. The watershed lies towards the NW. corner(s), is exclusively conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" to and on which are generally carrying some trade of a very primitive culture? (Pl. [illegible], Fig. 1.)

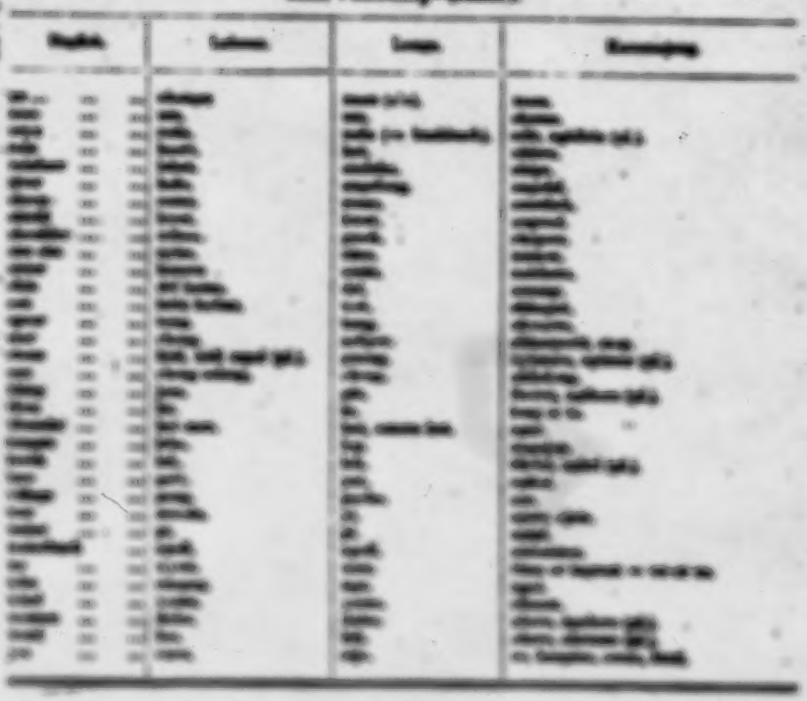
The hills and mountains are all composed of coarse crystalline rocks of various sizes except in the south-west where Tertiary lavas and volcanic rocks are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Basement type.? Tors are rare, but they are not very common. There are also [illegible] plains [illegible] except in the Timaru hills where [illegible] occur.

The area is drained by a big river, and it [illegible] is to be noticed a [illegible] drainage. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes [illegible]

? The Basal Metamorphosed Complex is also referred to the Young Basins system by [illegible]

? The [illegible] of the area [illegible]

(Short Proceedings—[illegible].)



Tree Worcestonia.

Of all the tribes living in Kenmuir the Lahore are the best primitives and the Worcestonia the worst so. It will be convenient to deal with them next.

Environment. The Worcestonia are a hill people. They live in rough mountainous country on the edge of the Kenmuir Plateau escarpment, in the north-west of the district, in places [illegible] of across (Pl. [illegible], Fig. 2, and Pl. [illegible]). They are hemmed in by the neighbouring tribes who, however, make use of them in several ways. The very recently, the Worcestonia served as a "go-between" during raids, assisting the Dobbites by selling the [illegible], on the one hand, and helping the "Kobold" or Yorkmen with regard to supplying plants on the other. The Dobbites often refer to the Worcestonia as "speaking men" on account of their agility. The Worcestonia claim that they have never been raided.

[illegible]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kavirondo in 1920 I was told that on the occasions stone vessels, much the same in shape as the wooden ones described by Dr. Gerald Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who *made* them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient blue beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Kisazi Kigoa (Nasolot), on the extreme south-east of Kavirondo, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a pre-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Kimbo (a prince and brother to a ruling monarch) who during a sojourn in Budde (in the Buganda Province), constructed the remarkable earthworks known as *Kigge Kya Mugenyi* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what validity I know not, with the ancient buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

Concluding Remarks.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, of considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the knowledge that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary, and more often than not even the Elders have any knowledge of the remote significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of most practices is lost in antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the Native troops of the K.A.R.) that elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say may in any way injure them support. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that Europeans should be very curious behind long-established precedent; and if friendly disposed evince suspicions of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and customs that do not. Differences differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss their views among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is therefore doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which prove valuable, while much of the information was contradictory. All the material was worked through, and the eventually incompatible results discarded. The issue is not very encouraging; however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kavirondo are deserving of fuller study.

As far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between the customs and ideas obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to drawing conclusions as to the origin, migrations, &c., of the tribes, especially as to their more pretentious ethnologies. But perhaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of clan (totemic)

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in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maraqwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ani and the Kikuyu call them Aci. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Aci."

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from the north and east which forced the Bantu /61/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organised for war and rapine. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

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1. So one hears of Masai Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Commitee" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Goriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Goriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Committee remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Goriama in exchange for bows, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for hunting and service. The institution of "Sheger" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of inferior status and dependence of the Sheger section, who have the less remote a theoretical freedom to the body politic.

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[7]

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freemen in theory but only while the tolerance of the far more powerful tribes who were their neighbours could be gained by service and their power to appease - service as hunters and possibly as spies on other peoples, potentially the rivals of their hosts, and appeasement by their readiness to seek protection, to renounce their tribal pride and unity in favour of adoption[2] into other clans. They would become, if not the parasites on social orders different from their own, at best the junior partners in a symbiosis which, while to them it meant individual preservation at the risk of tribal death, would, to their seniors, mean no more than a corps of military intelligencers costing nothing.

And as to those electing to continue their former mode of life or to re turn to it, not among Africans alone are people[3] who find the "madding crowd" so irksome that they readily go back a stage or two in cultural trends in order to avoid it. To many a member of a "highly cultured" race a back-to-nature substitution of a complex, regimented, shoulder-rubbing life by pasturage or venery connotes no retrogression, but rather the reverse. For though the "noble savage" may have been discredited by later study, modern humankind, still ill-adapted to a repetition of itself in every acre, is prone to envy him.

/82/ 88. Dorobo and Kiora

We must now see to what extent these Dorobo peoples - whatever they were - impinged on the tribes of the Land Unit when the latter entered the countries they now occupy. The Kiora people

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1. In the case of the Dorobo from whom the Karuna Kikuyu "bought" their lands, it seems that it was often the Dorobo who sought adoption. No doubt the Kikuyu in such a case would make the right to cultivate a condition of compliance.

3. I have heard the Embu refer to professional big-game hunters

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It would seem that the Il Imwesi, though known to European settlers as "Meru Dorobo", affected the Meru very little. They were squeezed out of Kathiri by the Meru and then out of the Loldaigas and the Lewa area by Europeans. They were moved back to the Meru District about 1925 and out of it again some twelve years later. 194

71. Dorobo and Mwimbi

The Mwimbi told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo used to come and go, and the implication was that there was little contact between the two tribes. It was, however, generally believed that their spokesman himself, Mbogoe, had Dorobo blood in his veins. The Mwimbi failed to mention the Mwoko (Mukoko), who were possibly, according to Mr. Gurney's account, connected with them. They are noticed here because it does not seem too far-fetched to identify the "ancient Mukoko" of that account with the present Mukogodo of Nyeri District, and these Mukogodo claim, according to Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum to the Land Commission, to be pure Dorobo, though the "Dorobo Committee" reported that they were said not to be Dorobo at all, but a separate tribe living on and around the Mukogodo hills and believed to have been there from time immemorial, and that there were two sections of them, a stock-owning section who lived on the plains, and a stockless section who lived on shelves in the hills. The former might well be of the type the Meru encountered on the Tigania plains and fill Mr. Lindsay's description of the Mukogodo as "probably of Galla origin", and the latter may be true Dorobo hunters and identifiable with the Mukoko of Mr. Gurney's account. If so, one must suppose that the Mukogodo afford another instance of a symbiosis between a pastoral Hamitic tribe and a forest-dwelling hunting Dorobo type. Mr. Huntingford[2] expresses doubts about the Mukogodo similar to those of the "Dorobo Committee" and remarks:

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1. Memorandum submitted to the Land Commission.

2. Ibid., p.[illegible].

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"There are nine gous of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

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That the Mwimbi have a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mwoko or bth than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be edicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi wit the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes cal Mokuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbiwho went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in openbaraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to theMwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was amed Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the nort with most of his people. [439]

/84/ 72. Dorobo as Chuka, etc.

There is very litle evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Muthambi Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contat in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the nieor tribes know of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, hat there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lating impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. Some the are there is credible evidence (not advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement on Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of th present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mbere, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gichugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

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a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country".

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [ETS]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Commission that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. E.C. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

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"to have occupied the land along both banks of the Aboni[1] or Amboni River. They intermarried and traded in famine years with the Kikuyu, and cannot remember having come from any other part of the country. For the most part, they lived apart, hunting in the /65/ Loldaika Hills. Between 1905 and 1912, when the alienation of land to Europeans took place, they were pressed northwards to their hunting grounds, and eventually settled down with the Mukogodo, having acquired cattle from the Masai and early traders, such as Mr. John Boyes. They included the El Choki plain within their grazing area. Their language is similar to Masai."

Mr. John Boyes told the Commission of a meeting between himself, a Dorobo chief Olemondo, and the Kikuyu chief Wangombe, and Wangombe's son Ndirango, in a memorandum to the Commission, speaks of "Chief Olemondo of Dorobo of Donkeys". The Dorobo referred to are clearly the Ndigiri[2], that being the common Kikuyu word for "donkeys".

The "Dorobo Committee" classified the Loldigiri among the group living north of Laikipia and Mr. Hemingford puts the Digiri among the true Dorobo of his Eastern Group.

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1. The Gabi Kikuyu also call the river Ikeni. Aboni in Kikuyu means "the Ikeni people", and boni may be related to an original Nyika stem boni (? bilabial) which, prefixed by ki, would give mboni in Ndia and boni in Kikuyu. Some relationship between the Ndigiri and the Chuka Ikeni might possibly be indicated.

2. Perhaps it was among the Dorobo that the Kikuyu first saw donkeys, which appear to have been unknown to the Bantu tribes of the East until comparatively recently. A Dorobo elder told me that the Ndigiri used donkeys instead of women for the transport of the meat of animals killed in the chase.

/53 cont'd/

The Ndigiri may have been on the eastern side of the mountain as well. An old man from Igoji told me that the Dorobo formerly thereabouts were known as the Ndigiri or Mukuru, and there is a place in Imenti called "Muromo-Ndigiri" - "Doorway of the Ndigiri" - said to be on the track by which the Ndigiri migrated northwards, though the name might possibly refer to nothing but a path once used for donkey transport.

It is possible, indeed, that the Ndigiri are (or were) very widespread in the eastern half of Kenya, for it seems unreasonable not to identify them with the Wadegere of the southern coast, of whom Captain C.T. Davenport, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, says:

> "The Aboriginal inhabitants of the (Duruma) country were a tribe of hunters called Wadegere, who, but for two or three small settlements where their language is still spoken, are extinct, either through disease or through absorption by the surrounding tribes; probably the latter".

Possibly the Ndigiri "clan" of the Taveta are also Ndigiri Dorobo in origin.

53. Dorobo and Waruma Kikuyu

The Fort Hall Kikuyu told the 1929 Commission:-

> "There were no Loodis here" (i.e. when the Kikuyu arrived)
> "the nearest were on the West".

Sir Commander Lawford appears to have been informed a good many years before, when he was District Commissioner, Fort Hall, that "in years long past" the Kikuyu cousins, then living somewhere "in the mount of Wandorobo"[1], and, earlier still, Mr. E. Taylor Smith, who was District Commissioner from 1908 to 1911, recorded in the Political Record that

1. Quoted by Routledge, loc. cit.

"The various members of the several tribes with the exception of the Andorobo appear to have been driven to what is now known as Kikuyu country by stress of famine and found it occupied by Andorobo. The Andorobo seem to have received these emigrants hospitably and to have sold them sharples which were originally demarcated by planting 'mbaria' trees and which growing up formed permanent landmarks, the sharples to the day descending from father to son. In the course of time owing to the gradual spreading of the Kikuyu sharples the bulk of the Andorobo were driven from the country".

16. Dorobo and Kaveye Kikuyu

In regard to the territory south of the Chania River (the present Kiambu District) it may be said with confidence that the forest areas (much more extensive then than now) were in the occupation, probably somewhat sparse, of a Dorobo people at the time of the Kikuyu influx. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Commission that:

"In the very first place the country about here was occupied by Wandorobo who were hunters.... There were Dorobo in this District as far as the Chania".

The Commission recorded the opinion that "the Kiambu District was certainly the last to be occupied and Dorobo were hunting even it."

Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, in his study of the Southern Kikuyu, has recorded a number of facts and opinions concerning the Dorobo with whom the Kikuyu came into contact. The following are extracts:

"There is no record that the Wandorobo hunting tribe were ever in effective occupation of that part of the country" i.e. the Fort Hall area, "and the only previous inhabitants seem to have been a tribe called by the Kikuyu Gumba, or Mumbi a Ciamp. These people, from all accounts, must have been a pygmy race, few in numbers, and having no organised land occupation even for hunting purposes.

"In spite of the fact that only such a small number of Wandorobo are left to represent the tribe, it would be erroneous to consider that the tribe was ever more numerous, as in fact, there were probably several hundreds of families representing more than a thousand people in the not very distant pa. The reason for the decrease in these numbers is due, not to starvation, but to absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought the land many Wandorobo families gave up their hunting and married into Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wandorobo [the Kikuyu] ... to live in fairly large villages where their rulers gave them and their families reasonable security from attack, and where they could organize their social life in such a way as to have courts of justice and other amenities of the type ...

[illegible] Social Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo woman told the [illegible] initiation is a very important "[when a Kikuyu we had our ritual]". But this does not in itself mean by much as other [illegible] extended family and the extension is by no single [illegible] all we can infer from the remark, if we believe, is that the family was the unit of the social order. But the word [illegible] the same statement, said: "The name 'Kikuri Chuma' is the name applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for other Kikuyu tribe. Within the Kikuri ya Chuma there are other [illegible]", and the remark[illegible] suggests a recognition of the [illegible] as part of a clan, though the [illegible]

The following brief account of their tribal organization was given me at a meeting of the Dorobo who live in Kericho on the edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the statements of two others, Barbuda ole Lesemo, who lives on a European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Sotik area), and Ole[illegible] ng'ati ole Kotiyo, who lives at Kericho.

516 cont'd

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and commemoration, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dondo reckoned as joined in the mutiko of the Kikuyu and the ruanda of the Maasai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is kuumiana. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as mori ya-kia (the right hand) and mori ya-kenji (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to kiama is the former and kiama the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Maasai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Each an elder is called kiraguindo (pl. kiragiti). A kiraguindo has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is an ieiben but formerly the Dondo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Maasai.

They recognise one Supreme Being, called Tararit (compare the Sub Tararit). There appears to be no cult of ancestral hut worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tararit, are, as with the Samburu (a military clump), for keeping the mutego, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the mutiki and the mutethiaini.

N. Little is nothing is known of the relationship of the Dondo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dondo sections. The "Dondo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Development group, and remarked that they were first found in the plantations but left them and went to the Maasai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee met this group was living on forest squatters in the

/98 cont'd/

Aberdare and at Kisale. In Mr. Huntingford's classification they are presumably included in the Nandi group, called Kitosh, or in the Kikuyu group, called Digiri.

78. It is probable that the Dendo who lived well inside the forest south of the Chania were entirely independent of any other tribe until the Kikuyu arrived and occupied their country and gradually forced them into the half-starved, half-expelled people now known as the Kikuyu Dendo, but that those living in the fringes of the forest and carrying their hunting expeditions into the plains were already under the influence -- almost under the reign, if not the suzerainty -- of the Masai. We find them referred to occasionally as the Kapotei Dendo and it is not altogether an exercise of a strain on the imagination to suppose that the /99/ relationship was really not so much one of symbiosis or even dependence as one of common origin but different culture, the Dendo and the Kapotei representing respectively the section of a tribe which had preferred to remain in its original state of untrammelled freedom and the section of the same tribe which had assumed a pastoral life and had had a Masai civilisation thrust upon it, and had as well perhaps absorbed a modicum of the Masai blood. Such a flight of the imagination could merely be meant to be. Carbutt Lord's hypothesis that the "Kabi" Masai were originally Dendo, and possibly serve to explain the Kikuyu name of "Kabi a Kuleru" for the more southerly section of Dendonians, of whom he says, "There is a third group generally called the Kuleru Kikuyu ... who have intermarried with Masai, mainly Kabi, and with their Dendo". The word Kuleru (or Kapte) certainly has more of a Masai (and consequently, perhaps, Dendo) than Masai flavour, and it is among the Southern Kikuyu that the two guilds, to which history called attention and which in turned the Kikuyu and the Masai, with differing results to certain aspects of the social life, such as initiation, are particularly prominent. The Kikuyu call the latter the Ilutio guild, wherein we see perhaps a recurrence of the same root lug, though the word Ilutio is generally been related to the English stupid, derived by Dundas from the Masai root ugog. The Rev. Canon Leakey, in a memorandum to the Land Commission, said:

01. Within Kerma area we find the arrival of the Cal impinged upon by Dongola people only where comparatively recent movements have brought the two together. Elsewhere the Dongola people had either been expelled or else absorbed or both. The circumferential movement of the Kerma brought them into touch with the Ji Ground, the northerly extension of the Cal Kibuya with the Ndigir, and the southerly invasion of Kibuya from Kerma into Kurma with the Kalma (or whatever they should be called). In the last two cases there was, at the time of the British occupation, a relationship between the impinging tribes involving expulsion of the Ji-Nandi (not by war but by continued pressure), symbiosis in groups of two degree, and absorption still in progress but so far incomplete.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

(a) Apart from the Kipsen, the Marakwet, and the Masai, who were all cattle-keepers on the plains, the names of peoples believed to have been in previous occupation of the Land Unit are Cumba, Okiek and Dorobo.

(b) The Cumba were a Bushman or Pygmy tribe, probably the latest.

(c) The word Okiek probably denotes a [illegible] rather than a separate people.

(d) The Dorobo possibly represent an early Nilo-Hamitic invasion of a Hamitic type.

000-000

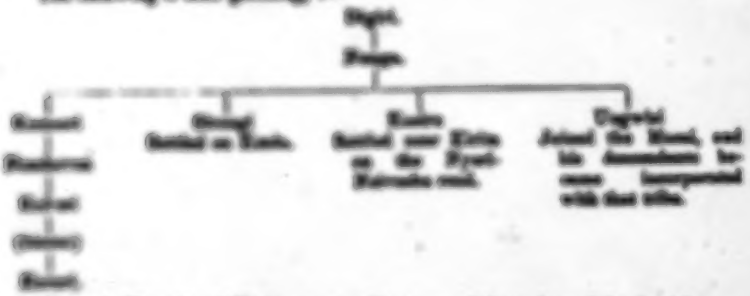
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Akikuyu Informants and others. By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.

The true Dorobo people are called Aa by the Elkuyu people and call themselves Aaguk (or Ogaiak) or Ogiaiakua.

Mr. Gulin tells me that the Ruath call them Chirk (singular Chiru), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Torobon).

They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Kenia to Kavirondo before the Kikuyu invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiak is the Digiri (see Man, 1908, 87), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by name is one Dongo, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiak are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy:—



Kenani, Chong'i, and Kenia are now the names of three clans of the Aggiak.

Before the Masai came some of the Aggiak circumcised and they all spoke one language. The name of the Aggiak in the northern, which is called Digiria, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a curious legend of the formation of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Kenia Ruath saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE DOBUANS

By C. G. S. SELIGMANN

[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Department, were held guilty of a crime they did not understand. In 1937, in accordance with the decision of the Kenya Land Tenure Commission of 1933, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Trans Nzoia. This attempt to settle them outside their native forest was a failure, and they are now an excised but landless group of nomads living a precarious existence on the forest which comes up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their very existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Trans Nzoia, the majority do not want to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own home. I had fortunately made my first acquaintance in 1937, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1938, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organization.

As regards their numbers, the census I took in 1938 showed a total of 370 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans; the census results may be summarized thus:—

[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who stands [illegible] to him or relationship (except P. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an empire.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister, because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.Br., Br.W., or Si.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone to the effect [illegible] is forbidden; but with a classificatory cousin, though not approved of.

The marriage of women and the lack of wealth [illegible] have resulted in the Dorobo being largely cross-cousins, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The Dorobo [illegible] price is said to have been formerly 4 cows for daughters; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 3 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This holds in fact for [illegible] people who own little or no stock, but by custom [illegible] of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from [illegible] Thirsk (See below, p. 191.) Rarity of divorce is [illegible] mention much of this marriage, and does not [illegible] is something unexpected) [illegible] is seen by the [illegible] that it would among other [illegible] where women are plentiful. The inability [illegible] to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called wealth, that is, concentration [illegible] Some of whom were many) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as looking [illegible] and cultivation, without assistance.

III

[illegible]

A. [illegible]

The home of the Kipsigis and Dorobo is the eastern part of the high ground which occupies the country between Kisumu Nyanza and the Masai escarpment. The greater part of it is [illegible] covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the [illegible] by two parallel paths from Kisumu [illegible] to the north to Nakuru to the south. The former begins about the 6,000 ft. contour, and a small [illegible] from one side wealth a steep slope of [illegible] the [illegible] are "Mau-grass or sengeta," thrift,

[illegible]

[illegible] ft. to steep places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 2,200 ft. to 2,400 ft., through the main river, the Kipkaren, flows through a valley 1,200 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about nine miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 60.04 inches over 9 years from 1928 to 1937: the maximum was 70.22 inches in 1937, the minimum 50.01 inches in 1933. In the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry months it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather light yellow normally among the Cheridos. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of trees (yonde olkoeng), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, Mwaitwondi, the dry season from October to March, and Imet, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the main [illegible] activities, and the [illegible]

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Cheridos may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1906 when the Government started actively to control their lives, and (2) the present mingling agricultural life to which cultivation is [illegible] of increased importance.

The economic group is either the [illegible] family or the domestic family (or the [illegible] family). Social division of work overlaps in some cases, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and bee-keeping with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, bodies (work), and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging ditches (work), and putting mud on the fire to melt (though the women help after it has fallen to the fire).

[P. 192, 4]

[illegible] control by concerned action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[illegible] There seems to have been no very strict class system, as pig were considered to belong to the war creation, though sea often, since the former is difficult to consume when wet. There are now no lions or elephants, but they are said to have existed when the Town and Kingdom were very young ones, i.e. about 1800. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs. Many are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is now bought, but searched for or made from forks. Sometimes, a trap made by one long forked stick weighs a leopard during one of its visits into said to be exceptional. Buffalo or ranger rise in the western end of the forest where the Kaiyukuyuni live, but they never ever trouble[illegible] a few cattle in the east.

Hunting parties varied from ten to eight men. If ten, eight went out, half would go along one track of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that no or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and ended the meat and an equal of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and other Pokot for their families, the accountable members of the tree receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (Chemorere) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat is under of priority, to—

Hunter. Share is

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (Chemorere).

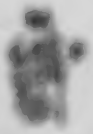
[illegible] law (or had till they were ordered by the government) as hereditary right over a piece of forest, [illegible] which included hunting, trapping, bee keeping and bird-catching. Other people who wished to hunt there asked permission to do so, [illegible] otherwise the right-holders might kill anyone [illegible]

[illegible] hunting animals.
[illegible] Full confidence given orally.
[illegible] Other studies in Kamasia-Pokot adjacent districts, the Nandi, Kipsigis, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



In these mighty mists that followed was another of long memories, the oldest people knew how the earth knew except the oceans. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different height of existence in the sea the [illegible] beneath, and the different shaping of their fins [illegible] by their underlives appear to us today as three branches of the oldest people.

The ancestors of the earliest immigrant band are the [illegible], more generally known under the name of [illegible] ('Anadromous') or Many Ascenders from the Greek word [illegible] ; the poetry of whose they have only a part.

Although the inhabitants of the Hall live nothing to say about a former population of Ancients, one most remarkable absence, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated at [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of large parts of the steppes. From among themselves, Ancient symbolisms, and, finally, the pressure by the Troops enclosed the Hall to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Ideas, the [illegible] the Ceb services of which were the [illegible], and the Ceb also the [illegible], when it came to, to drive out the oldest ones altogether. A part of these fused refuge among the neighboring agriculturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their opponents, who adapted them as ancestors of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where and today, in great poverty, they scale a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Hall, however, was not to be spared the [illegible] bush settlers. After a rather long period during which they coexisted with the Troops the descendants of the steppes, the Arabaspes appeared again around Ideas and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the new settlements did not exceed ideas. The third band, the [illegible] [illegible], immigrated from the north, and it lasted a though it would rarely [illegible], by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. Nor the presence of the Troops, who in place were just as powerful as they were heavily, thinned the fertility of the Ideas. They gained the [illegible] for the common fight against the Europeans.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(950) Clothing and adornment. — Cloth materials. — The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. — Head and body hair. — Ears. — Painting. — Tattooing.

Cloth materials, such as are the media of the exercise peoples to the Native tribes, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Ndi. The principal reason for this is that they will rarely come into direct contact with the Europeans either, under pressure from the Masai. Only they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a high barter trade the Masai buy here cows [illegible] with them, as the coastal peoples or gain bargains this type of trade.

The Europeans see the Ndi chiefs often to their original leather clothing finds evident one before, especially [illegible] which, in use and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but lacks pearls and other orgies. This person is particularly noticeable by the front and many capes, called [illegible] and [illegible] by the Masai, which the Europeans name the skins, and which here are also worn by older men because in bearing the [illegible] is the [illegible] because of its length. The following elements to be generally seen the [illegible] called [illegible] often as [illegible] made of red [illegible], which they bring from the desert cities and often have it made out of the [illegible] from [illegible] antelope. The manner of the women is here called [illegible], as in the upper part of it [illegible] of the desert to mark, while the lower one is worked after the Masai fashion [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] is of material is here called [illegible] and is considerably shorter than the female, only a little longer than the [illegible]. Several [illegible] worn from a [illegible], which, however, is general are not seen. To ornament the [illegible] of the Ndi is [illegible] among the following, though one sees also [illegible] that [illegible] in the [illegible] as [illegible], as a result of circumstances, very considerably [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/301 cont./

to peasant or elk. The heir of the warmonger is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobbo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol dombani often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general vogue; it was not originally peculiar to the Asa, but adopted.

As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /302/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as pori-wedge, corresponding to the ol olkeiyani of the Masai. If an Asa kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would